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OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Sri K. V. Soundararajan, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, delineates, "Sociological Vignettes from the Sundarakāṇḍa of Ramāyaṇa."

Sri K. Guru Dutt, Retired Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and former President of the Society, continues his exposition of "Pratibhā" (Intution in Indian thought) and deals with Pratibhā in Literature and Poetics.

Sri K. S. Ramachandran of the Excavation Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, offers the next instalment of his "Bibliography of Indian Megaliths"

OURSESVES

Obituary

We regret to record the death of Sri P. Swami Das, a member of our Society. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Meetings

The Fifty-Second Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Sunday the 26th August 1962, with Sri K. Guru Dutt, President of the Society in the Chair. Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A.,D. Litt., Emeritus Professor of History and Politics, University of Mysore, was elected President. A new Managing Committee was also elected at the above meeting.

Lectures

Air Vice-Marshall S. N. Goyal delivered a lecture on "Some Aspects of Śabda Tatva" on 27-7-1962.

Sri Acharya Arun of the Ānanda Mārga Ashram, Jamalpur, Bihar, gave a talk on "The Science and Philosophy of Yoga" on 2-11-1962.

"Poetry of Vālmīki" was the title of a lecture delivered by Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao, on 13-11-1962. Justice Sri T. N. Mallappa presided.

Sri S. S. Malimath, Presiding Officer, Industrial Tribunal, Bangalore, gave on 16-11-1962, his impressions of the United States of America which he had visited recently.

Sri H. V. Imarati delivered a lecture in Kannada on "The Place of Karnātaka in India" on 17-12-1962. Sri J. Rudrappa presided.

A Series of Five lectures were arranged on the Bhagavad Gīta from the 10th of December 1962, when the following lectures were delivered:

Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao on "Yoga and Bhagavad Gīta" on 10-12-1962. Professor M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

Sri C. Ramanathan, on "Some Aspects of the Bhagavad Gīta" on 12-12-1962. Professor M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

Professor M. Yamunacharya on "Bhagavad Gīta and Mahatma Gandhi" on 14-12-1962. Sri D. H. Chandrasekhariah presided.

Justice Sri T. N. Mallappa on "Essence of the Bhagavad Gīta" on 19-12-1962. Justice Sri B. Vasudeva Murthy presided.

Dr. G. Marulasiddaiya on "Optimism in the Bhagavad Gīta" on 21-12-1962.

New Members

We welcome the following new members: Sriyuths C. K. Nagaraj Rao, M. P. Patil, Dase Gowda, K. V. Lingappa, S. V. Manjunath, L. Raja Rao, P. Narasimha Murthy, Dr. A. K. Rao, Y. G. Rama Murthy and B. M. Kalappa.

General

We record with pleasure and pride the selection of Sri R. R. Diwakar, one of our Life Members as a member of the Peace Committee that visited the United States and the U. K. under the distinguished leadership of Rajaji.

Kalidasa *Samārōha* was held at Ujjain from the 9th to 14th of November, 1962. Professor K. Veeraraghavacharya, Professor of Visistadwaita, Sanskrit College, Bangalore, one of our members, represented the Society at the *Samārōha*.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE CITY

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SOCIOLOGICAL VIGNETTES FROM SUNDARAKĀṆḌA OF RĀMĀYAṆA

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY

The Epic of *Rāmāyaṇa* is considered as one of the most precious heritages of the pious Indian and it has been rightly revered as the *Ādi-Kāvya* and Vālmīki its author as the first poet of early India. Traditionally, it forms the most nourishing pabulum for the orthodox Hindu in the nearly hundred different Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇas* that have branched later from this, and there is practically no aspect of the life of man that is not touched by the sweep of strokes from the styles of Vālmīki, and nothing that touched was indeed not adorned too. If *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki can be considered as the main arch of the sociological edifice of the ancient Indian, the *Sundarakāṇḍa* may well be considered as the key-stone of that arch. It is in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* that the climax of the plot of the narrative was reached, and it is here that all the rumblings before eruption and the stately and philosophical calm before the impending storm were noticed. The best and worst in every character delineated had been brought out here, with all the intermediary stages of the gamut. Undoubtedly, it is enveloped and dominated by the sense and strategy, the wisdom and valour of that great *Ingitajña*, namely, Hanumān. Whatever it may be to posterity this *kāṇḍa* of

Rāmāyaṇa holds out many precious vignettes from which the life of the times could be pieced out and to this task the present paper will primarily concern itself.

The date of the historical core of *Rāmāyaṇa* has been dealt with by many great scholars from Jacobi, Lassen and Hopkins onwards. Doubtless, it preceded in its main sociological matrix the other epic *Mahābhārata* but, when the story came to be written is indeed another question. Many valuable and reasonable data of contemporary life, both from internal and external evidence help us in reaching a conclusion that while the earliest effort in drafting the main epic could be during the periods succeeding the Buddhist epoch in the Pre-Christian centuries, the final recension was not probably complete before the Second–Third Centuries A.D. It has been held by some scholars that the Epic, having been laid in the eternal present, should not be analysed from sociological or archæological or literary points of view, as pertaining to different stages. But this view, it would seem, would not only detract from the undoubted basic historicity of the Epic core, but also negative the inevitable reflection the work would cast for mirroring the age of its creation. With this broad frame work, we may now deal with the potentialities of *Sundarakāṇḍa* in unravelling archæological and sociological information of varied importance.

Rāmāyaṇa and The Buddha

In the opening lines of the twenty-ninth *sarga*, as also elsewhere in the *kāṅḍa* (*V 29* ; *S.13*) is used the word *tathāgatā* for Sītā or *tathāgata* for Rāma in the sense, "being in this condition;" but in its secondary sense, we know it had been distinctively used for the Buddha, in the Buddhist period. Either the work had lost its currency in that special sense by the time *Rāmāyaṇa* was written, or the *kāvya* was written long before Gautama the Buddha's time. Since the latter appears less likely, it may be taken that the word *tathāgatā* had lost its special attribute by the waning fortunes of Buddhism itself and it came to be used essentially in the etymological sense in this and some

other contexts, either earlier than or later to Buddha. (See : *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* iii, 5 ; *Mahābhārata* ; *Mālavikāgñimitra-V*, 9).

Rāmāyaṇa and Linga Etymology

To be reassured of what she had heard and seen from Hanumān, Sītā wants him to describe Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, their complexion, stance and features. She wants him to narrate the 'liṅgas' of Rāma (*Yāni Rāmasya liṅgāni ...... S.* 35 ; *V.* 3). This word 'liṅga' is here used in the primary sense of emblem (*Chinha*) or sign or attribute. Indeed, in reply to her Hanumān uses the word *Chinha.* It is obvious that the derivative sense of 'liṅga' as 'Śivarūpa' had not yet become diffused into the hieratical society. Śiva was still known as Sthāṇu or Mahēśa etc. and the iconographic or symbolic abbreviation of Śiva in the form of *liṅga* had apparently been a product of the *Purānic* age in the post-*Rāmāyaṇa* text period. We find many instances of the use of this word in the primary sense of sign or as a mark of gender in *Upaniṣads*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. In *Vedānta*, again, it is used in a similar way such as 'liṅga śarīra' and as an equivalent to *sūkhṣma śarīra*, and as contrasted with *sthūla śarīra.*

Geography and Fauna

The first *sarga* opens with Hanumān leaping into the skies from the Mahendra Hills for crossing the ocean, in the southern direction, as indicated by Chāranas or semi-divine beings, as the place where Sītā was probably kidnapped by Rāvaṇa. Mahendra Hill may perhaps have to be identified with the hill of the same name in the Orissa-Ganjam tract, since further south we do not have any hill abutting right on the sea coast. As he roars and soars into the sky, the fauna and flora of the region receive a rude shock by the tremor of his terrific start. The carnivora and cobras mentioned in detail would well conform to the known fauna of the Agency Tracts of Orissa and north-eastern Āndhra even today. The aquatic animals in the sea below are mentioned as *timi* (whale), *nakra* (crocodile), *jhasha* (gargoyles) and *kūrma* (tortoise). We have in sculptures ranging from the First

Century B.C. onwards, many art devices involving the use particularly of *nakra*, *gajavaktra-jhasha*, etc.

THE POLITICAL SET UP IN LAṄKA

In the course of the great tumult and fight that ensued when Hanumān decided to make his presence in Laṅka felt by Rāvaṇa, and destroyed the lush *Aśoka Vanika* garden, many warriors were sent in succession by Rāvaṇa to bring the monkey captive and alive before him. But one and all met with the same fate of either instant death, or mangled and agonizing death. The *kinkaras*, the *chaityapālas*, Jambumāli the son of Prahasta, the sons of Ministers, the five *senānāyakas* (named, Virūpākṣa, Yūpākṣa, Durdhara, Praghasa and Bhāsa-karna), and even Akṣakumāra, the darling younger son of Rāvaṇa himself, were all thus relentlessly slain by Hanumān in a terror-striking posture of destruction. In this battle of unequal numbers, we see the usage of many kinds of weapons on the Rakṣasas' side, many of which like *asi*, *tomara*, *śūla*, *pattisa*, etc. have a close parallel with the different types of weapons mentioned in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription (*Parasu sanku sakti prasasi tomara bindhipala naracha vaitastikadi......*). Further, it is seen that most of these weapons including (*kavacha* with breast plate) such as the one Jambumāli wore, have all been made of steel. This is but natural since only in steel or iron, they could have been made strong and effective although bronze had also been utilised for armoury in the classical west. Even the pillars and girders of the gate on which Hanumān took his stance, in between his combat, were themselves made of iron (*āyasa*). All these would show that the period during which the Epic was written is to be placed in the heart of the Iron Age when sufficient mastery over the metal had been established by craftsmen to work out innumerable weapons of defence and offence, apart from other architectural components. Archaeologically speaking, it is difficult to visualise use of iron at a period earlier than the Sixth Century B.C. broadly considered. This helps us in giving an anterior limit to the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

It is interesting to note the diligence with which one after another, the *Amātyaputras*, the five Commanders in Chief (*Panchasenāgranāyakāḥ*) etc. go to quell the predatory monkey, Hanumān. The despatch of these people for this purpose is taken as a matter of course without Rāvaṇa being agitated in any far-reaching way but, at the same time, the fact that they have all been deployed by Rāvaṇa himself personally indicates how he was a full-fledged dictator and only he issued orders for such matters of life and death, and no disobedience was thought of, much less brooked. It is to the credit of Rāvaṇa, however, that once he is set upon a punitive mission, such as the quelling of the disturbing stranger Hanumān, (and not necessarily killing him—e.g. *Sa kapihśāsyatām*–46 *S. V.* 4) it did not matter for him if even his own son Akṣakumāra was also killed in the encounter. Thereby he was showing his best mettle as a warrior uninfluenced by filial sentiments (*Yuddhasiddhirhi Chanchalā V.* 15–*S.* 46).

Lay Out of the City, Defensive and Civilian Equipment, Etc.

The town of Laṅka had, apart from the dazzling outer fortification, a mobile exterior ring of crack archers ever ready to stop and slay undesirable intruders. The houses in the town were decorated with buntings, banners, awnings and arches. Standing on the northern gate of Laṅka, Hanumān views the citadel of Rāvaṇa laid on the brow of a hill (*adri murdhni pratiṣṭhitam*).

The practice of having the main gates of palaces and citadel guarded by female amazonian guards was well-known in the western classical accounts as also in the early historic period of Roman contact with India. In sculpture, they are also met with, as in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the panel showing the return of Chanda, the charioteer, after leaving Siddhārtha outside the palace and reporting his irrevocable resolve to his parents. In this scene, the amazon guard is supporting Yaśōdhara who fainted on hearing the news from Chanda. Such an amazon guard is indeed Laṅka or Laṅkiṇi whom Hanumān had to overpower and overcome before entering Rāvaṇa's own palace citadel.

In the vicinity of Rāvaṇa's abode, Hanumān saw chariots and vehicles drawn by horses and elephants with four tusks (*varanaischa chatur-dantaiḥ*). It is said Indra's Airāvata had four tusks. Sometimes chariots were also drawn by mules, as in the case of Jambumāli's chariot (*kharayuktena*).

When, after reducing his form to that of a very small being, Hanumān enters the city after dusk and looks around the huge palaces, we meet with terms like *talas* of *saptabhauma* and *aṣṭa-bhauma* stature, for seven and eight storeyed structures. In architecture also a *tala* is a storey while *bhūmi* is used for different stories of the superstructure or *vimāna*. We have thus the rudiments of architectural terminology here.

We are told that the moon shone bright with its full 'sriṅga' (with a double entendre on the word) or deer mark, or was like the elephant whose tusks have been encased in gold (*hastiva jamboonadabaddha sriṅgo*). This must be a popular way of decorating a state elephant. Among the street scenes, are mentioned *mahāmātras* seated on elephants (compare the significance of this word with what obtained in Aśokan edicts)—*Gajāsthita mahāmātraiḥ*—chariots decorated with ivory, gold and silver and carrying relief figures of lions and tigers on the outer wall of their compartment. There is also a clear reference to the location of the houses of the chief personages of Laṅka, presumably in the order of their importance, the order being Rāvaṇa, Kuṁbhakarṇa, Vibhīśaṇa, Mahōdara (Prime Minister), Virūpākṣa (Commander-in-Chief), Vidhyut Jihva, Vidhyunmāli, Vajradaṁṣtra, Suka, Śaraṇa, Indrajit, Jambumāli, Sumāli, Raṣmikētu, Sūrya Śatru, Vajrakāya and so on. Hanumān saw in Rāvaṇa's house palanquins of different kinds (*sibika vividha-kara*), there were bower houses (*lata-griha*), art galleries (*chitra-griha*), sports pavilions (*krīda-griha*), wooden sporting hillocks (*dāru-parvataka*), pleasure houses (*kāma-grihaka*) and day houses (*divā-grihaka*) and armoury (*ayudha-chapasalaḥ*). The dazzling beauty of the exterior and the interior decoration of the palace with noble metals and precious stones, and made pleasenter by fragrant scents, was such as to bring out the assessment that

there was verily nothing in it that could have been produced by human artifice (*na tatra kinchinnakritam prayatnato*). The very acme of perfection among these was the *puṣpaka-vimāna*, the reputed aerial chariot, which was originally prepared by Brahma for Kubera who got it after great penance, and which was taken away from Kubera when he was vanquished in glory by Rāvaṇa. This chariot had decorations of mythical animals and was fully provided with different chambers for different purposes (*vv.* 11-19: 9th *sarga*). In certain other parts of Rāvaṇa's palace the floor was spread with crystal and also decorated with inlaid ivory with a veneer of rūpika (*Sphātikairāvrita talam dantāntarita rūpikam*). It is perhaps referring to a device of inlaying ivory in design of beaten silver.

We are also informed in the forty-third *sarga*, of the fight with the *chaityapālas* who were in charge of the *chaitya prāsāda* of Rāvaṇa. It is presumably one of the important official residences; probably the Defence Headquarters of Rāvaṇa. It is mentioned as lofty like the crest of the Meru Mountain. It might have been called so owing to a *chaitya* frontage or super-structural shape it might have had. It is very likely that in this we see faint traces of Buddhist architectural features, since Laṅka was an important land where Buddhist teachings fertilised with ease, from the days of the legendary missionary voyage of Aśoka's son Mahendra and daughter Saṁghmitra. Be that as it may, it gives another shred of evidence to place the date of the Epic text around the opening Centuries of the Christian Era.

Features of Royalty

As Hanumān is cogitating upon the pitiable state of Rāma's spouse in bondage at *aśoka vanika*, another day dawns. Rāvaṇa wakes up to the music of auspicious note and his first sensual thought is about Sītā. He then, as was his wont, repairs to *aśoka vanika* to make another overture to Sītā. He proceeds in a stately procession surrounded particularly by divine damsels brought as hostages from the celestial world and who filled his ever-increasing harem. As it was not yet daybreak—which means he rose early—the way is lit by torches held by fair

maidens. A maiden was holding the white umbrella—which was held by a golden shaft over him – the mark of sovereignty; the whiteness of the umbrella putting to shame the splendour of the royal swan and the full-moon.

Rāvaṇa's appearance, in spite of his ornaments, was terrifying and akin to the funeral pyre of the burning ghat (*Smasānachaitya pratimo-bhūshitōpi bhayankaraḥ*–*V*. 29 : 22nd *sarga*).

Classicism in Rāmāyaṇa

The description of the tremulous and wondrous state of the *vidyādhara* couples in the sky in the opening *sarga* is a classical lyric-(*Vismitassasmitas tasthu akase ramanaissaha*), and this aspect has been repeated in the sculpture in the Sixth-Seventh Centuries A.D. The trees uprooted by the momentum of Hanumān's leap, followed his body for a stretch before being blown away. It was verily like relatives seeing one off for a distance when one is undertaking a long journey. (*Prasṭhitam dīrghamadhvanam swabandhumiva bāndhavaḥ*).

The classical analogy of any lofty palace with Kailāsa (which occurs repeatedly in *Rāmāyaṇa*) obtained essentially in the early historic times and such a comparison occurs in many early historic and Gupta inscriptions.

In the opening verses of the fourth *sarga* is mentioned the victorious entry of Hanumān into Rāvaṇa's citadel after vanquishing the guard Laṅkinī and it is said that by entering Hanumān placed his left foot on the head of his foe (*chakrethapādam savyaṁcha śatrunām sa tu mūrdhani*).[1] This is generally a boast and a practice current in the early historic percid. Not only in literature but also inscriptions from the early historic times onwards we have many such references to either the enemies bending and placing their head in obeisance at the feet of the sovereign or the sovereign placing his foot on the head of a vassal or the vanquished literally or metaphorically, (*cf.* "*Sāmanta*

1. Also *cf. V*. 40: *S*. 34. (*Kritvā murdhni Padanyāsam Rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ*).

mouli mani ranjita pada yugmum etc." in the *Vikramorvasiyam* of Kālidāsa). Here it is mainly in the sense of Hanumān placing his best foot forward to be crowned with further success. Wandering through the streets of Laṅka, Hanumān saw and heard damsels in their residences intoxicated with pleasure and indulging in music redolent with the three octaves and *swaras* (*Suśrāva maduram gītam tristhana swara bhūṣitam*). The three 'sthanas' or *sthāyis* are *tāra* (basic), *sadja* (upper octave) and *mandara* (lower octave), unless the Vedic *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* are meant. This description of music is indicative of the attainments already made by *nāgarīkās* in '*nadōpasana*', one among the sixty-four traditional arts to be learnt by him.

The description of the utter state of abandon of the effete ladies of the harem at the end of their physical pleasures at dead of night is almost faithfully reproduced in Asvaghoṣa's *Buddha Charita* also, as well as in sculpture with comparable grace and realism in the panels of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa dealing with harem scene. It is thus very likely that the ideas and reflexes which are involved in the epic in these descriptions which had been imbibed by Asvaghoṣa and in sculptural depiction would pertain to a society of the opening Century of the Christian Era. The varieties of musical instruments mentioned like *vīna*, *muraja*, *maṣṭuka*, *paḍaha*, *vamḍa*, *vipañchi*, *mṛdaṅga*, *paṇava*, *diṇḍima*, *kalaśi* as having been sported by these pleasure maidens would also point to the same direction. When Hanumān mistakenly identified Mandōdarī with Sītā and gleefully indulges in monkey pranks hoping that the search is at an end, the poet states the natural pranks of the monkeys.

> *Asphoṭayāmāsa chuchumba puchham, nanāda cikrīda jagau jagāma.*
> *Stambhānaroharnipapāta bhumau nidarsayan swaśm prakritim kapīnām.*

The state in which Hanumān ultimately sees Sītā is indeed one of the most poignant passages in any literature. The simple comparisons of her gloomy condition brings out forcibly the great control the poet has over his diction and data. As one who is temporarily bereft of her lord and in somebody else's custody

against her will, Sītā is shown as without any *kanchuka* or blouse, with unkempt hair lying in *ekaveni*–in one single tress–upto her waist, with tear-laden eyes and without any of her ornaments. It was comparable to *vidya* or knowledge having gone into desuetude by lack of application (*Amnāyānāmayōgena vidyām praśithilāmiva*) or by words which due to lack of discerning currency had changed their import (*Samskāreṇa yatha hinam vacham arthāntaram gatam*).

The superior damsels who clustered around Rāvaṇa had a state of semi-awakened and slumberous gait and look, and were of disturbed bodily ornaments, dishevelled hair and with beads of perspiration born of pleasant nocturnal dalliance adorning their forehead (*V.V.* 10-27: 18th *sarga*). The last mentioned detail most forcibly recalls to our mind the famous lines of Kālidāsa in the *Aja-vilāpa* of *Raghuvaṁsa* (*Surata srama sambhrito mukhe dhriate svedalavodgamopite*). It is essentially a rhetorical description of the classical period of Indian Sanskrit literature, and should be of appropriate date. It may be noted that Vālmīki is consistently using the words *uttamastrī*, *paramastrī*, *parama nārí*, for the favourite ladies of Rāvaṇa's harem, just to indicate that they had been formally and duly acquired by Rāvaṇa on different occasions of valorous conquest and are not to be considered as slaves or chattels.

That Rāma is the object of what the Sanskrit rhetoricians call '*vipralambha sṛngāra*' (pathos in separation) is evident by the way in which, according to Hanumān's version, even the insects, worms and mosquitoes biting Rāma did not observe any response or reaction from him, and how he wakes up daily with the name of Sītā on his lips and how whenever he sees any charming or lovable object like flower or fruit etc. he heaves a deep sigh with a mention of his beloved. In every sense, he was the hero of a classical drama.

Sringāra Rasa

From the fifth upto the thirteenth *sarga*, we have a very extensive description of Rāvaṇa's palace and harem, their occupants, their charms and their activities, as observed by Hanumān. It has been sometimes complained that Hanumān, the great celibate that he was, and Vālmīki, the sage that he was, could not have known so intimately about the activities in a palace harem from second-hand information. It must, however, be stated here that the duty of a poet is to describe the incidents in the best light of his own knowledge, and it is very likely that the state of sophistication, and pleasure-seeking potentialities narrated in these *sargas* are but the mirror of a section of the society of the age in which the verses were compiled and if only we view it so, their great realism, felicity as far as Rāvaṇa was concerned, should be apparent and should also give an edge to the development of the narrative.

Hanumān's own explanation for his having been a witness to all the orgiastic scenes and sights of nocturnal revelry in Rāvana's harem is that it had made no bad impact (*vaikritya*) in his mind, since it is the mind which is basically responsible for drawing towards the good and the bad. (*V.* 41: 12th *sarga*). He further asserts that he had necessarily to go through all these places in the process of elimination, since he had to search for Sītā only among the ladies of the palace and not elsewhere. One cannot search for a lost damsel, he observes, among the deers in the forest (*V.* 42 : 12 *sarga*).

Pantheon and Puranism

Surasa, the *nāgamāta*, who formed one of the obstacles set up by fate to test Hanumān's prowess (not unlike the twelve labours of Hercules in the classical Greek Mythology), addresses the latter that he had verily been sent by the Gods (*mama bhakṣa pradiṣṭhāṣṭavamīśvarai-r-vanararṣṭabha*). The term 'Īśvaraih' will clearly show that a unitary or supreme being had not yet been conventionalised and hence there were many *Iśvaras*, according to one's own calling, since who is *Iśvara* but one (the God) who

bestows presents (*Iṣṭe-iti-Iśvaraḥ*). Compare this with the *Nāndi-Śloka* of Kāḻidāsa in *Vikramorvasīyam (Vedanteshu Yamahurekapuru-ṣam* etc......) which is a later development.

When Hanumān found that the *Aśoka Vanika* had escaped his notice in his search and that he should make the last bid for success, he then offers salutation to all the divinities, then in vogue, namely the *Aṣṭavasus*, the *Ékādaśa Rudras*, the *Dwādaśa Ādityas*, the *Aṣvin* twins, the seven *Maruts*, Indra, Yama, Anila (Vāyu), Chandra, Sūrya, Brahma, Agñi, Varuṇa, etc. It is thus obvious that the epic compilation pertains to a period when the Vedic Gods were continuing in favour, and the Trinity concept had not yet crystallised and in the *lōkapālas*, Yama had already replaced Kubēra. The period that can fit in with these specification is most likely the opening centuries of the Christian Era.

The detailed *sāmudrikā lakṣaṇas* of Rāma's Body that Hanumān narrates (*V*.15 - 20:35th *sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*) are of great significance and importance to the state of art, painting and sculpture of this period. It is perhaps the earliest reference, in the abstract, of any kind of *tālamāna* for figure sculpture, although its immediate purpose was to delineate Rāma's impeccable personality. It describes Rāma as of wide shoulders (*Vipulāmsaḥ*) ; of long hands (*mahābāhu*) - Rāma is indeed also known as *Ājānubāhu, i.e.* whose forearms reach the knee cap and is considered as the mark of a *Puruṣottama* or *Mahāpuruṣa*; of shell-like neck with lines (*kambu-grīvo*) ; with collar bones well hidden by flesh (*gudha-jatru*) ; of copper coloured eyes (*tāmrākṣaḥ*); of a voice as sweet and stenotorian as the note of Dundubhi the celestial clarion ; of bright complexion (*snigdha-varṇa*) : having three firm parts in the body (*tristhira*) ; three pendant parts in a body (*tripralamba*) ; having three equal parts of the body (*triṣuchōnnataḥ*) ; having three copper coloured lines or of trebled copper colour ; having three folds on his belly over the naval (*trivalivān*) - a sign of beauty ; having three crowns or vertices (*triśirṣavān*) ; fragrant on all the four sides (*chaturvyanga*); having four marks on the thumb denoting mastery over the four Vedas (*chatuṣkala*) ; having four lines on the fore-

head (*chatuśkiṣka*)—each man is in height eight times the span of his own palm or four times his own forearm which is a cubit; having four symmetric parts of the body, arms, knees, legs and cheeks (*chatussāma*); having fourteen paired symmetric parts of the body (*chaturdasa-sama-dwandwa*); like Viṣṇu (*chaturdamṣṭra*); having four kinds of gait (*chaturgati*); great lipped - usually attributed to Śiva - great cheeked and great nosed (*mahoṣṭaha-hanu-nāsascha*); ten lotus like parts of the body (*daśapadma*); having ten large parts of the body (*daśa brihat*); doubly pure on both the father's and mother's side (*dviśukla*); having six prominent parts of the body (*ṣaḍunnata*); of fresh body (*nava-tanu*); omnipresent (*tribhirvyāpta*).

It is clear from the very detailed description given above that *śāmudrikā-lakṣaṇa* had already been crystallised and was in vogue. *Brihat Saṁhita* mentions some of these characteristics. Since it is presumed that Sītā understands implicitly the terms used by Hanumān, the terms current among the learned, should have gained sufficient currency as to be frequently used. It would be interesting to compare *Pratimālakṣana* texts with the features detailed in the *Sundarakāṇḍa.*

When Maināka rising out of the sea to play host to Hanumān is brushed aside with great force by the latter, mistakenly as an obstacle, an explanation was called for from the former and hence Maināka is mentioned as having duly assumed human form and standing on his own peak to offer his salutations to Hanumān (*Mānuṣam dhārayan rûpam ātmanaḥ sikhare sthitaḥ*). This would show that we are well in the Purānic age where legends had already been envisaged by the pious for the edification of the godly and how transformation (*kāmarūpa*) of inanimate form into human and vice-versa at will were not considered incredible.

The size Hanumān took on reaching Laṅka was so stunted as to make the poet compare his transformation with the Vāmana-Trivikrama incarnation of Viṣṇu (*trīnkramāniva vikramya balivirya haro hariḥ*). This again shows that the age of the written epic is set in the Purānic context. Standing on the northern gate of Laṅka, Hanumān views the citadel of Rāvaṇa

as erected by Viṣvakarma (the celestical architect) and which was once the abode of Kubēra - *kubērādhyuṣitām purā*. The reference to the creation of the capital city by Viṣvakarma (and not Maya) and Laṅka having been the seat of Kubēra has a deep significance and is explained in the Purānic legend as to how Rāvaṇa by his conquests drove away Kubēra from his southern seat, whereafter Kubēra repaired to the north and established himself at Alakapuri. This has close parallelism on the iconographic side with the replacement of Kubēra as the *dikpāla* for the south and the occupation of that place by Yama. This is found already in the sculptures of the Gupta period and hence we have a stable basis for fixing the latter limit for the date of this episode and with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* text itself to pre-Gupta times.

When Sītā is threatened with dire consequences by the host of horrible looking *Rākṣasīs*, if she did not yield to Rāvaṇa's blandishments, Sītā tells them that she is a *pativratā*, as Arundati was to Vaśiṣṭha, Suvarchala to Sūrya, Sachī to Indra, Rohini to Chandra, Lopamudrā to Agastya, Sukanyā to Chyavana, Sāvitrī to Satyavān, Srimatī to Kapila, Madayantī to Saudāsa, Keśinī to Sagara and Damayantī to Naḷa. She will think only of her husband under any circumstances, as the aforementioned devoted wives had done. The name of Svāhādevī, wife of Agni is further added, (*V*.26: 24th *sarga*). It is to be noted here that the host of glorious example of womanhood and wifehood cited above, are not all contemporary and the fact that they are all mentioned here together would tend to strengthen the view that by the time the *Ādi-kāvya* was being written, all these Purānic legends about noble specimens of womanhood had become popular in the society, and they looked upon them as ideals to be striven after.

In Trijaṭā's dream-sequence, Rāma was himself seen transformed into God Viṣṇu (whose incarnation he was) and appeared with *Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gada*, etc. his *Āyudha lakṣaṇas*, with *śrivatsa* mark on his chest. Saying this, Trijaṭā could not also help herself describing Viṣṇu as the supreme, ultimate principle, (*Param Bramha, Param Tattvam, Param Jñānam, Parantapaḥ, Param Bījam, Param Kṣetram, Param Kāraṇa-Kārakam*) omnipotent,

omniscient, the cause and the end of all beings. This fine metaphysical digression is indeed a vicarious reflection on the evolved state of society in the ethico-philosophical direction, since the quintessence of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Upaniṣad* is contained in the above utterance. Only a complete permeation of such a mental attitude into the matrix of society can result in such statements pouring forth as from Trijaṭā - who was after all a *Rākṣasi* although not of the conventional type.

When Hanumān describes Rāma, as he had known him, he uses many attributes, among which, are '*Archismān architōtyartham*' which is quite a parallel to '*Archiṣmān Architaḥ kumbho...*' of *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma*. We find many such terms used both in the *Ramāyaṇa* as well as in *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma* and other 'Nāmāvalīs' of Gods, as to lead us to believe that most of the 'Nāmāvaḷīs' had been composed during the Purānic period. (e.g. *Buddhimatām Variṣṭam* in *Hanumad-aṣṭottara* as well as in *V.*7: 32nd *sarga* of *Sundarakāṇḍa*; '*Raṣmi mantami vodhyantam svatejo raṣmi malinam V.*28: 46th *sarga* of *Sundarakāṇḍa* and '*Raṣmi mantam Samudyantam*' in 'Ādityahṛdaya.'

Hanumān tells Rāvaṇa that Rāma will vanquish him undoubtedly since none can seek to protect anyone who is against Rāma, not even Brahma or Rudra or Indra (*V.* 45: 51 *sarga*). In stating this, he adds subsidiary attributes to each of these Gods as *Svayambhū* (self-created and 'four faced' for Brahma), the 'three-eyed' and the 'killer of Tripura' (for Rudra), and the 'chief of the devas' (for Indra). It is particular to note that throughout the *Sundarakāṇḍa* as elsewhere in *Rāmāyaṇa* wherever there is reference to Śiva, it is only as Rudra and not as Śiva, and the word Śiva is mainly used in the primary sense of 'auspicious', as when Sītā bids farewell to Hanumān and says '*Śivascha te dhwastu haripravīra*' (*V.* 24: 40 *S*). This also indicates a lingering vogue of Vedic gods rather than a later Purānic attribution of the name Śiva.

The range of the existing pantheon of major and minor gods is again repeated and it helps us to exclude any possible later additional conception. *V.* 36 of *S.*54 states how the

Rākṣasas wondered that Hanumān was after all a manifestation of Indra, or Yama, or Varuṇa or Vāyu or Rudra or Agni or Kubēra or Chandra or Brahma. Here it is also to be noted that Brahma is qualified by the attribute *Sarvapitāmaha* (*V.*37: 54 *sarga*). As we know that at a later date approximately from the Third–Fourth Century A.D. Brahma ceased to be given any major importance as a God to be worshipped, except through his spouse, *Vāk-devi* or *Sarasvatī*, the conception of Brahma as *Sarvapitāmaha*, and *Vaiṣṇava* (or *Viṣṇu Śakti*) as *ananta*, *avyakta*, *achintya* and *ēka*, (*V.*38 : 54 *sarga*) - compare the Vedic *śloka*

> ' *ēko Viṣṇurmahatbhūtam prithak—Bhutānyanekaśāḥ*
> *trīnlōkān vyāpya bhūtātmā bhunktē Visvabhukavyayaḥ* '

—and the exclusion of Rudra from any such primordial status would also speak in favour of a stage in the evolution of religious and hieratic thought datable not later than the turn of the Christian epoch.

Rudra's destruction of Tripura is again compared with Hanumān's setting fire to Laṅka and completely destroying it. (*V.*31 : 54th *sarga.*)

Despite the fact that Vālmīki had been portraying Rāma essentially as an ideal man, the supreme Godhead in him which is only bearing the *avatāra* or incarnation of Rāma is desired to be specially emphasised from time to time. One such substantiation is the episode of Kākāsura or Jayanta, the crow shaped son of Indra, mentioned twice in *Sundarakāṇḍa*, once as told to Hanumān by Sītā and again as recounted by Hanumān to Rāma. The episode clinchingly demonstrated the *Śaraṇāgatavatsala* that Rāma was or 'the affectionate refuge of all that surrender' while all the other Gods like Indra, Brahma, Rudra, etc. are subservient to the pronouncements of Rāma and refuse to help the wicked trespasser like Jayanta.

Diplomacy and State Craft

The moment Hanumān espies the island (*dvīpa*) at the end of his journey, he reduced the size of his body which he

had inflated during the journey and gives out the reason for this, as a fear on his part that seeing the *Kāyavṛddhi* (magnitude of body) and *pravēga* (great force), the *Rāksasas* may get too curious about him (*mama koutoohalam kuryaḥ*). This is a diplomatic utterance since a special courier or messenger into a hostile terrain should not make himself conspicuous until he had figured out the place and the situation and is well set in for the accomplishment of the chosen mission.

The reflection of Hanumān on seeing the futility of hoping to overcome the impregnable fortress of Rāvaṇa and how he thence proposes to do the best that a *dūta* or messenger should do, read like a chapter from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. There is no doubt, that this treatise must have been very popular with the rulers at the time of the Epic narrative.

Bhūtāscharthā vipadyante deśakālavirōdhitāḥ
Viklabam dūtamāsādya tamaḥsūryōdaye yathā
Arthānarthāntare buddhi-r-nischitāpina śōbhate
Ghātayanti hi kāryāṇi dutāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ
(*V V.* 39-40, *sarga* 2)

The presentation of Hanumān to Rāvaṇa brings to light many facets of court-manners, *Rājadharma* and diplomatic procedure and it shows how, even under duress and dire provocation, Rāvaṇa had to bow to the inviolate sanctity of *Rājadharma* and had to deal with the situation according to the spirit and letter of court procedure. It is typical that while Rāvaṇa addressed Hanumān in the third person through his Prime Minister, Prahasta, and heaped arrogant and slighting words on him, the Prime Minister in his turn had of necessity to address him with the respect and consideration due to an emissary. At the same time, with the air of devil quoting the scriptures, he informs Hanumān that if he indulges in falsehood in his reply, he is liable to be given the capital punishment. Thus we may take that even truth (*satya*) was not a totally rare commodity in Rāvaṇa's court, although righteousness clearly was the first casualty there. In replying to the question about his motive for the large scale destruction of property and life, Hanumān

strikes an utterly legal note and pleads that he, a *dūta* of Rāma, had to damage the *Aśoka Vana* as a strategem for forcing an interview with king Rāvaṇa which he found to be impossible of achievement otherwise; but as far as the killing of the *Rākṣasa* hordes is concerned, it was essentially in self-defence and protection of his own life which was in acute danger, that he had to do it. (*Rakṣanārtham to dehasya pratiyuddhā mayā rane* – *V.* 16: 50 *sarga*). Hence, it might have been culpable homicide but certainly not amounting to murder or genocide. Proceeding further, Hanumān presents his credentials and conveys the fraternal greetings of Sugrīva and informs that Sugrīva had advised Rāvaṇa through him to desist from the untenable action of keeping Sītā under his subjugation and to restore her to Rāma. As a token of the tremendous prowess of Rāma, Hanumān casually informs Rāvaṇa that Vālī was killed by a single arrow of Rāma and adds that Rāvaṇa, of course, had already known Vāli, thereby kindling the old memory of the discomfiture Rāvaṇa had sustained at Vālī's hands:

Tvayā Vigñātapūrvascha Vālī vānara pungaaḥ
Rāmena nihatas sankhyē śarēnēkēna vānaraḥ
(*V.* 11: 51 *sarga*).

In indicating the punishments of an approved nature for a *dūta* who had misbehaved, Vibhīṣaṇa enumerates (a) disfigurement of limb, (b) whipping, (c) inebriation or torpor and (d) branding, and says that death for a *dūta* is unheard of:

Vairūpyam angesukāsabhighāto moudhyam tathā lakṣaṇa sannipātaḥ
Etān hi dūtē pravadanti dandam vadhastu dūtasya na nahsrutōpi
(*V.* 15: 52 *sarga*).

Although in modern conditions, these would appear to be too cruel, still not only would these be the preferable alternatives to death, but should have indeed been inflicted only in extreme cases. In any case, they are deterrent punishments and would have produced the desired effect upon the adversaries. These were actually in vogue even during the late mediaeval times in different parts of monarchical India.

Habits, Customs, Beliefs and Adornments of a Citizen

After making a thorough search of the city of Lanka and not seeing Sītā, Hanumān is in a very depressed mood and in a fit of defeatism conjectures all kinds of calamitous consequences if he reports failure to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva, and decides that he should become a *Vānaprasthin*, or he will raise a *chitā* or a funeral pyre in a coastal littoral and enter the fire, or take recourse to what the Maharṣis call '*niryāṇa*', or enter a watery grave, or become a mendicant, but shall not return to Kiṣkindhyā with a failure. This indicates the various courses which were prevalent at the time of the epic narrative, for ending one's life after a successful or unsuccessful domestic life. *Prāyōpavēsa* is also mentioned in this context elsewhere. (*V.* 61 : 35 *sarga*).

Hanumān identifies Sītā by the fact that many of the ornaments which he was informed that she had worn at the time of her abduction by Rāvaṇa were seen near her hanging from the branches of the *simṣupa* tree, (other than those dropped by her during flight and later collected by the monkeys of Sugrīva and shown to Rāma), such as *Karṇavesta* (ear-ring), *svanadamṣtra* (dog's teeth) well decorated, perhaps with gold encasing, bangles with stone inlay and other important jewellery. The mention of dog's teeth, (perhaps canines, as a warder of evils), is interesting, since it corresponds to the tiger claws which are encased in gold and tied around the necks of children. In early Tamil literature, even the *mangaḷasūtra*, the token of taking a woman as one's wife, by the hill tribes, was having tiger claws as the centrepiece or pendent, and as a test of one's fidelity in love the tiger had to be slain by the hero before he claims the damsel he loves as his wife and the claws retrieved from the slain tiger had to be tied around the neck of the beloved.

On the philosophical side, the Hindu society had by then come to accept the transmigration of souls from one *janma* to another *janma* with the virtues and sins of commission and omission of the soul accruing and borne by suffering or enjoyment in successive births, since Sītā laments that indeed she must have sinned heavily in a previous birth to merit the visitation of such a horrible calamity

on her in Rāvaṇa's palace prison. (*V.* 28: 25th *sarga*). When Sītā is in such a despondent mood, Trijṭā the daughter of Vibhiṣaṇa informs the *Rākṣasis* in Sītā's presence that she had a dream which would spell disaster to Rāvaṇa and Lañka, and glory to Sītā and Rāma. She saw in her dream Rāma seated in an aerial palanquin of ivory corbels (*Gajadañtamayīmsibikām*), borne by a thousand swans and how in another part of the dream she saw Rāma sitting on the back of a four-tusked elephant which was itself standing on the resplendent white hill in the midst of the milk ocean. Thus the premonitory effects of dreams must have already become an accepted fact.

When Sītā was about to put an end to her life by hanging herself from the tree by her long tresses of hair, special auspicious omens and indications occur in the same manner as mentioned in early Buddhist literature narrating Buddha's life story. She felt her shoulder, body, thigh and the left eye were throbbing, which was and is even now considered as a good omen for ladies while the corresponding right parts of the body throbbing is held fortunate for men. When Sītā looks up the *Simṣupa* tree on hearing the *nāmasañkīrtana* of Rāma by Hanumān, and sees the monkey form, she feels it first as part of a dream and the sight of a monkey in a dream had not been ruled as specially lucky by astrologers. Hence she apprehensively prays for the safety and well being of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and her father Janaka. That Sītā should include her own father in this context is very interesting and shows the automatic reaction of a young woman who had not yet become the real *Gṛhiṇī* of Rāma in a strict sense, as at the time of his banishment Rāma was only a *Yuvarāja* and Sītā a princess, thus her bonds with her parents still persisted.

She, however, counters her own fear of the bad omen of monkey sight by stating that she could not have dreamt since she had hardly any sleep and it is stark reality she was facing and hence no omen value could be attached. She then prays to the Lord of Speech, Indra, Brahma and Agñi that what had been chanted by Hanumān should indeed be the truth.

Then Hanumān again addresses her. He is still so much impressed by the impeccable beauty and character of Sītā even in her desolate state that he asks her if she could be one of celestial birth, like Yakṣas, Kinnaras or belonging to the Rudras, Maruts, Vasus, or could she be Rōhiṇi, the consort of Chandra; or could she be Ahalya who had been overtaken by the anger of sage Gautama; but concludes that since she appears to belong to this world by her royal markings, and if she is the same lady who had been abducted by force by Rāvaṇa from Janasthāna, then she could only be Sītā. When Sītā replies to it, we have a lesson in social etiquette as to how a lady should introduce herself. Sītā says she is the daughter-in-law of that great warrior-king Daśaratha, is the daughter of Janaka the noble soul of Videha, her name is Sītā and she is the wedded wife of the learned Rāma. That she should give the first place to Daśaratha is expressive of her delicate sense of honour and gracious courtesy. When she hears again in indubitable terms from Hanumān of the fact of his being a messenger of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, she proclaims that there is great truth in the saying that given longevity a man will attain *ānanda* sooner or later (*Eti Jivantamānaño naram varṣaśatādapi*). (*V*. 6: *sarga* 34)

Hanumān's handing over the signet ring of Rāma is considered by the pious as one of the most auspicious occasions in the epic text. It is, apart from any other significance, the earliest textual reference perhaps of the practice of engraving one's own name or initials on one's finger ring — the other similar notable case being implied in *Mudrā Rākṣasa* the drama of Viśākhadatta. We have similar evidences of inscribed official seals from archæological excavations mainly in the post Third Century B.C. periods. Signet rings of such nature are, however, generally not datable earlier than the First Century A.D.

Hanumān narrates to Sītā, after handing over the ring, that Rāma is pining for her and did not know that she is imprisoned in Laṅka, that Rāma had also given up meat-eating and taking to any intoxicating drinks owing to separation from her and that he takes only a simple, natural vegetarian diet. This

mention of dietary sacrifice on the part of Rāma is an indirect significant index of the general normal diet of Rāma and what he had eschewed on account of his misfortune.

The *sarga* dealing with Hanumān's proffered services for carrying back Sītā to Rāma on his back and how Sītā dissuades him from his well-meaning but indiscreet arrangement is indeed characteristic of a virtuous Hindu wife and Hanumān himself is to no small extent impressed by this magnificient display of wifely devotion by Sītā. The very idea of Hanumān carrying her to Rāma physically, causes her great astonishment (*V.* 28 : 37 *sarga*). Her evasive answers about his inadequate powers and her own frail nature fail to register. She then had to make it clear that on the one hand she may be mistaken for Hanumān's own consort and on the other she cannot bear the touch of any man other than Rāma. This leaves Hanumān completely stunned in retrospect by the very presumptuous and unimaginative proposal he had made. Bhoja in his *Rāmāyaṇa Champu Kāvya* also exploits the patently untenable first suggestion of Hanumān, but makes Hanumān himself rule out this as a mad thought. The verse is worthy of being quoted in full;

Māyāmṛgēna tava maithili vanchitāyāḥ
Sākhāmṛgēna punarāgatirityayuktam
Eṣā kathāpi bhuvane viditā yadisyāt
Ka nāma rāma dhanuśaḥ prathītā praṣastiḥi

(Bhojā Champū - Sundarakāṇḍa *V.* 34).

When he confronts Hanumān in person in his court after being subdued by Indrajit's *Brahmāstra* Rāvaṇa becomes conscious of the fact that Hanumān is not a mere *vānara* but a power at once righteous and divine, perhaps intended to vanquish Rāvaṇa who knew no opposition from the Dēvas (*Mahatsattvamidam gñēyam kapirūpam vyavasthitam V.* 12: 46 *S*). Again and again this thought assails him. He is even painfully recollecting that it is nemesis, in the shape of Hanumān, that is overtaking him

Kimeṣa bhagavān nandī bhavet sākṣātihāgataḥ
Yena Śaptosmi Kailāse mayā sañchālite purā

(*V.* 3: 50 *S*),

remembering how he slighted Nandi, the bull attendant of Śiva, as of ungainly mien, when he had gone to Kailāsa to give it a shaking to show his strength and the disastrous consequences. It indeed shows how Rāvaṇa, despite his extreme arrogance, both intellectual and physical, born out of the power of boons acquired by his *tapasyā*, is subconsciously feeling the impact of his own misdeeds. Indeed, even Hanumān, is visibly impressed by the grandeur of Rāvaṇa's personality and the unparallelled might of his arms and exclaims, "Oh! that *Adharma* was not supreme in Rāvaṇa! Or else he is fit to adorn the seat of the Chief of the immortal Devas, protecting even Indra."

Yadyadharmo na bhalavān syādayam Rakṣaśēśvaraḥ
Syādayam suralōkasya sasakrasyāpi rakṣiti

(*V*. 18: 59 *S*.)

This is really the highest tribute that Rāvaṇa can expect—evil that he was -- from the righteous representative of Rāma. Without ambiguity of thought or expression, he tells Rāvaṇa point-blank that all the while Rāvaṇa had undoubtedly been reaping the fruits of the *tapasyā* he had already performed but the time of reckoning had now come for him to reap the consequences of the colossal *adharma* he has been perpetrating (*V*. 29: 30–51 *S*).

Vālmiki gives in a resounding manner in the context of Sītā pitting herself against the nature of Fire-God to singe the tail of Hanumān. She prays to the Fire-God that "if she had served her lord faithfully, if she had performed any righteous acts and if Rāma can indeed be called a strict monogamist, then the fire should prove cool to Hanumān" (*V*. 28-29: 53. *S*) and cool indeed it did prove to him. In other words, it shows that chastity and dutiful character of a Hindu spouse were potent enough to overcome any seen or unseen obstacle.

*PRATIBHĀ**

(INTUITION IN INDIAN THOUGHT)

K. GURU DUTT, I.A.S. (Retd.)

CHAPTER—II

PRATIBHĀ IN LITERATURE AND POETICS

I

Indian speculations regarding the nature of speech go back to the Ṛgveda and even beyond. In the well-known *Vāk Sūkta* (X. 125) Speech personified apostrophizes herself as the companion of the gods, transcending them in range and power, a kind of Logos or primeval wisdom. Max Muller is of opinion that the idea must be much older than its expression in the Veda and presupposes a long previous period of growth.[28] Cryptic utterances bearing on the intimate nexus between Speech and Wisdom are not infrequent in the Ṛgveda. Thus we read in the so-called *Jñāna Sūkta* (X.71) : "The wise create speech through wisdom... the path of speech was reached by the Ṛṣis through sacrifice." They are also found scattered in the from of veiled and mystic allusions to the functions of the gods, particularly Agni.

In the *Brāhmaṇas*, we meet the idea in the characteristic form of myth and legend. Thus in the *Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa*, we read : "Prajāpati, the Creator, was all this. He had Speech (*Vāc*) as his own, as a second. He thought, Let me send forth this Speech she will traverse and pervade all this. He sent her forth, and she traversed and pervaded all this." There are numerous passages in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* where (*Vāk*) is called the daughter (elsewhere wife) of Prajāpati and she is always the principal agent in the work of creation : "All was made by *Vāk*, and likewise, all that was made was *Vāk*," which forcibly brings to mind the Gospel of St. John : "All things were made by the Word, and without the Word was not anything made that was made." In the *Upaniṣads* also, Speech has an exalted and crucial function.

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* Continued from Volume LII, Page 115.

28. The Vedanta Philosophy (1894).

A single decisive passage will be cited in illustration : "Two *Brahmans* have to be meditated on, the word and the non-word. By the word alone is the non-word revealed."[29]

It is obvious that in all these contexts, Speech or Word has reference not to the gross articulate kind but to the *sūkṣma* aspect known as *Paśyantī* which, we have seen, is identified with *Pratibhā*. We shall now note how *Pratibhā* has been recognized as the source of literary and poetic creation as well as appreciation.

The history of Indian poetics and literary criticism does not directly concern us. But it is necessary to point to a few landmarks. Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* is the earliest work on the subject and has achieved almost canonical status. It is ostensibly a treatise on dramaturgy, but treats of aesthetics generally, and above all enunciates the famous doctrine of *Rasa* which is crucial for Indian aesthetic theory. He has described *Rasa* as arising when significance has pervaded the heart and the whole body is ablaze like dry tinder which has caught fire.[30]

As distinct from dramaturgy, the earlier critics like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin studied the character of poetic composition. They diffused their attention over secondary features like figures of speech (*Alaṃkāra*) and their classification ; so much so that the science itself got the name *Alaṃkāra Śāstra*. This over-emphasis on auxiliaries to the neglect of the primacy of *Rasa* provoked the saying : If *Rasa* is present, the figures are superfluous; if *Rasa* is absent, the figures are futile.[31]

It was left to Ānandavardhana to discover and name the nuclear principles underlying the poetic experience : *Pratibhā* as the source, *Rasa* as the resulting ecstasy, and *Dhvani* as the sovereign means of expression. It is noteworthy that Ānandavardhana lived in Kashmir about 850 A.D. at the very time when

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29. *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad VI.* 22.

30. *Yo'rtho hṛdaya-saṃvādī tasya bhāvo rasodbhavaḥ*
Śarīram vyāpyate yena śuṣkam kāṣṭhamivāgninā

31. *Asti ced rasa sampattiḥ alaṃkārā vṛthā iva*
Nāsti ced rasa sampattiḥ alaṃkārā vṛthaiva hi

the concepts of Kashmir Śaivism were having their springtime efflorescence.

Anandavardhana's *Dhvani-kārikā* marks the opening of a new epoch in the story of Indian poetics. The question as to whether he was himself the author of the *Kārikās* or merely of the *Vṛtti* thereon need not detain us. He was undoubtedly the first to emphasise the role of *Pratibhā* as the prime source of real poetry. Bhaṭṭa Tauta whose definition of *Pratibhā* has been noticed earlier in this paper, follows it up by describing the poet as one who lives, moves and has his being, as it were, in *Pratibhā*[32] which summarises Ānandavardhana's view. In classifying poets, the first place is invariably given to the *Ṛṣi*, (the *Kavi* of the Veda), who is primarily the seer and the sage. But in every poet there must be some trace of the *Ṛṣi*. As is said, *Nānṛṣiḥ kurute kāvyam.* Vyāsa and Vālmīki are the prototypes of the *Ṛṣi* as *Kavi*. The next rank belongs to poets like Kālidāsa who possess in a supreme degree *Pratibhā* in its more secular sense. But the inspiration of the *Ṛṣi* (*Ārṣā-jñāna*) is at the root of poetic inspiration also. In theory no distinction is drawn between the two.

If *Pratibhā* is needed for the creation of poetry, it is no less essential for its due appreciation. The responsive reader is called the *Sahṛdaya*. The extreme regard shown to the *Sahṛdaya* is the distinction of Indian poetics. Even the common saying has it that it is the *Rasika* who enjoys the sweetness of poetry and not the poet himself.[33] Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (which Keith calls the 'super-commentary' on the *Dhvanyāloka*) invokes at the outset *Pratibhā* as the Goddess Sarasvatī, the transcendental experience which unites the poet and the *Sahṛdaya* : *Sarasvatyāḥ tattvam kavi-sahṛdayākhyam vijayate* ! Kuntaka, a contemporary of Abhinava-gupta (?), the author of *Vakrokti-jīvita*, would go further and even give priority to the *Sahṛdaya*. After bowing to the two main types of poets, he pays his special homage to the *Sahṛdaya*, whom he describes as one who lovingly appreciates the poet's labour and

32. *Tad-anu-prāṇanā-jivad-varṇanā-nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ.*

33. *Kavitā-rasa mādhuryam rasiko vetti no kaviḥ*

is alone capable of relieving him of the load of his inspiration.[34] In fact, it is to the ideal *Sahṛdaya* that Ānandavardhana himself dedicates his own work.[35]

II

The link between the poet and the *Sahṛdaya* is *Dhvani*, which provides the means of mutual participation. According to Abhinavagupta, the very life of this means of manifestation of poetic meaning is the collaboration of the *Pratibhās* of the poet and his trained audience.[36] The poet's inspiration is not merely inferred or guessed by the *Sahṛdaya*; it is directly experienced as an influx of power: *tad-āveśena bhāsamāna.* It is therefore essential to look more closely into the nature of this *Dhvani* which is, as it were, the carrier of the *Pratibhā.*

The principle of *Dhvani* was first clearly enunciated by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka.* He claims to be merely seeking to establish the existence of something which had throughout been recognised by the ancient masters. Particularly, he acknowledges his indebtedness to the Grammarians, with whose doctrine of *Sphoṭa* (the invariable substratum below the uttered word, which serves as the vehicle of meaning) it has much affinity. But whereas the grammarians were solely concerned with the meaning as directly or indirectly expressed (*Vācyārtha* or *Lakṣyārtha*), *Dhvani* went beyond both these into the region of the suggested meaning. This function was called *Vyanjanā. Dhvani* literally means 'resonance,' and is that which makes the real or suggested or spiritual meaning resound. The expressed meaning is mere matter of fact, and conveys only a cognitive-perception while the suggested meaning brings on an ecstasy of joyful surprise accompanied by a feeling of release from matter of fact—*Camatkāra.* The presence or absence of *Dhvani* is the distinction between good

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34. *Vandetarām tam punar yo vijnāta-pariśramo, yam anayose bhārāvatāra kṣamaḥ*
35. *Sahṛdaya-manaḥprītaye...*
36. *Vaktṛ pratipattṛ–pratibhā–sahakārityam hi asmābhir dyotanasya prāṇatvenoktam.* (Locana)

and bad poetry. The discovery and utilisation of the *Dhvani* potentiality of words is the measure of the genius of the great poet.

This potentiality is sometimes linked with either the expressed or denoted meaning of a word. But when most characteristic, it is independent of both and emanates from the sound elements which make up the word, and which are conventionally held to be devoid of meaning, but which in reality constitute an untapped reservoir of implicit values which the poet's *Pratibhā* knows how to draw upon. The theory of *Dhvani* thus opens up a new dimension in the functioning of language.

In its simplest aspect, *Dhvani* is the expression of the direct correspondence between sound and sense, independently of convention (*Saṃketa*) and usage (*Rūḍhī*). Onomatopœia, where sound imitates the activity itself, is an instance of the dynamic functioning of language. Dr. Betty Heimann has pointed out in more than one place how in Sanskrit, onomatopœia is more vividly appreciated than in any other highly developed language, and is a foremost factor in word-formation. In a recent paper[37] she has also pointed out how not only the rational meaning, but also the irrational and unphilosophical relation between similar sound determines the significance of a Sanskrit word. Sensitivity towards sound and the previous state of sound production results in similar psychological effects even in philologically unrelated verbal roots.

Other points of incidence of the doctrine of *Dhvani* on the theory of language are of the greatest interest, but have received little attention. In a recent paper, Professor Louis Renou refers to the dominant role which 'implicit' values have played in the development of the Sanskrit language, starting from the Vedic hymns with their constant pre-occupation with possible mythological or ritualistic suggestiveness of words up to the late *Kāvya*, with its obsession for displays of *Śleṣa*. He says:[38]

37. *The Counter-tension of Zero Point*: Journal of Oriental Research, Madras: Vol. XXIII, p. 18.

38. *Dhvani in Sanskrit Poetics*: Bulletin of the Adyar library, Madras, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1–2.

" 'Suggested' semantics is not at all in Sanskrit the fantasy of some daring writer; it is from the very root of the language that it draws its resources. Already the 'etymologies' of the Brāhmaṇa, the lists of the Vedic Nighaṇṭu, the interpretations of the Nirukta, attest the permanent presence of a *Dhvani*, that is to say of a secondary latent signification, suggested by the context or by the general exigencies of the poetic composition."

Prof. Renou observes that Indian poeticians particularly had a vivid perception of the 'quality' of words and of the forms of language, of their variable ability to 'suggest,' and in that of their works, after making necessary allowances, may be clearly seen the

"elements of a system on a linguistic basis, very conscious of itself, and in some ways rather near in its intention to that which the moderns are striving to establish in the West."

The paper closes with these words:

"Thus under whatever aspect it is envisaged, the doctrine relating to *Dhvani* contains for us teachings very valid and that seen almost intended for our age."

III

In his *History of English Literature*, M. Cazamian has described the rhythm of the English national mind as oscillating between the poles of sentiment and intellect. In a similar manner, a survey of Indian literature disclosed a tension and a movement between the poles of *Pratibhā* and *Vyutpatti*. The existence of a learned tradition can be presumed even in time of the Ṛgveda. Something again to the later *Vedāngas* including phonetics (*Śikṣa*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), metrics (*Chandas*), etymology and lexicography (*Nirukta*) within their range were already there. But as the term *Vedānga* itself implies, they were only subsidiary. They were in the background. What is prized above all else in the Veda is inspiration, the spontaneity of genius: in one word—*Pratibhā*.

The Ṛgveda overflows with passages in which the *Ṛsi* exults in the utter novelty of the expression. Staleness is altogether deprecated. It was through poetry that wisdom revealed itself. *Kavi* stood simultaneously for poet and sage: the medium and

vehicle of inspiration. The great gods are themselves called *Kavis*. Brahmaṇaspati, the "foremost lord of prayer and praise" is invoked as: *Kavim kavīnām.*[39] Indra, who is described in the *Upaniṣads* as the vigour of intelligence, appears as the personification of impulsive originality, vehement and impetuous, bearing down all opposition. His antagonists are like Vṛtra those veiling and restrictive forces whose activity is symbolized by obstruction of the free flow of the waters, or penning up of the cows, or blocking up the course of the rays of light. Indra's characteristic achievement is the act of release of the waters, the cows or the rays, from the grip of Vṛtra.

As a whole, the Veda is primarily poetry, in content as well as structure, and can be understood and appreciated only as such. Logic is alien to its essence and grammar only secondary. Suggestiveness (*Dhvani*) is its very soul. That so much care was devoted to the preservation of its actual sounds (*Dhvani*) intact through the ages also illustrates this. Ritual efficacy was bound up with the sound (*Mantratva*). The later Tantric concept of *Nāda* was a legitimate development of this idea. As we have seen, *Nāda* is identical with *Paśyantī* and *Pratibhā*. Traditionally these identifications are not far-fetched or fanciful, but their recognition ultimately depends on a certain *Sahṛdayatva*, of being in tune with fundamental resonances. As the Ṛgveda itself says (*Jñāna Sūkta*): "One (man) indeed seeing Speech has not seen her; another hearing her has not heard her; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well attired presents herself to her husband."[40]

That creative spontaneity (*Pratibhā*) and suggestiveness of expression (*Dhvani*) go hand in hand as illustrated in the myth and symbolism of the *Brāhmaṇas* as well as in the poetry of the Veda. But in them may be detected germs of that straining after

39. *Jyēṣṭha rājam brahmaṇām*

40. *Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam, Uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇotyenām* ।
Uto tvasmai tanvam visasre jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ ॥
(X. 71. 4).

system and literalness which distinguish their exposition in the *Karma Mīmāṃsā*. Speaking generally, the *Upaniṣads*, especially the earliest ones, show remarkable freedom of treatment of their topics. As between different *Upaniṣads*, or even between separate sections of the same *Upaniṣads*, there is no attempt at rigid consistency even in the use of terms. On the other hand, there is variety and option in the modes of approach (*Upāsanas*, or *Vidyās*). Their essence is meditative imagination (*Bhāvanā*). They are not obligatory but only suggestive, leaving ample room for the exercise of individuality in the great quest. Each *Vidyā* is an autonomus spiritual adventure. There are repeated admonitions that speech cannot reach the objective. That in spite of this, speech should continue to be employed for the purpose would indicate that it is neither denotation or connotation that is relied on, but suggestiveness (*Dhvani*). The outlines are deliberately kept vague so as to allow for marginal filling in. We are still in the region of *Pratibhā*.

The *Sūtra* literature seems to be the water-shed between the basins of *Pratibhā* and *Vyutpatti*. The *Sutras* are obviously a unique product of the urge towards fixation and system, of the "quest for certainty" as Dewey would have put it. Yet they are the meeting place as well as the dividing line between antithetical tendencies. The extreme condensation and brevity which the *Sūtrakāras* aimed at does not appear to have been merely a mnemonic device, but also a purposeful extension of the amplitude of suggestion, even at the risk of ambiguity and uncertainty. We may call to mind Bacon's preference for the aphoristic style on the ground that:

"...aphorisms, representing a knowledge broken, do invite men to inquire further; whereas methods carrying the show of a total, do secure men as if they were at farthest."[41]

But the Indian aphorisms are not intelligible without the help of the commentators. The grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini as expounded in the great commentary (*Mahābhāṣya*) of Patanjali fixed the forms of the Sanskrit language for all time. Grammar

41. *Advancement of Learning, Bk.II.*

instead of being ancillary to the Veda (*Vedānga*) became itself the fifth Veda.[42] The *Vedānta Sūtras* came to be treated as no more than an index to commentaries like those of Śankara. Schools and orthodoxies came to be established. There was to be no more direct understanding, but only through the mediation of a tradition dominated by *Tarka*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vyākaraṇa*. And although the commentators have displayed remarkable originality at times, it had always to be under the aegis of tradition, and had to disavow itself. *Śāstra* declared its independence and *Vyutpatti* came into its own.

We find in the *Sūtras* themselves hints that decadence had set in. Thus Āpastamba declares that the limitations of the times will no more tolerate the advent of *Ṛṣis*.[43]

Pratibhā was ostensibly banished from the realm of serious thought and relegated to the domain of poetry. But it continued to have its sway in a large undefined region, that of legend and myth and folklore, where intuition and imagination had full creative scope : the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* as well as collections of fables like the *Pancatantra*, and stories like the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Their range as well as influence were enormous. They were all in verse and formed a sort of bridge between serious thought and poetry. A great deal of philosophy and ethics, not to speak of other lore, is embedded in them. But what is remarkable is the wealth of myth and legend under endless variation found there, full of a suggestive significance and value exceeding even that of the directly philosophic or didactic portions.

Two instances may be given. One is the *Bhagavad Gītā*, undoubtedly the most popular among the Indian scriptures. In form it is only one of the episodes in the *Mahābhārata*. The work is not systematic nor is there any logical arrangement of thought or argument. The presentation is dramatic. Each chapter has its own perspective and there is apparent overlapping as well as inconsistency. That in spite of this, the work has continued to

42. *Pancamam vedānām vedam.*

43. *Tasmād avareṣu ṛṣayo na jāyante, niyamātikramāt.*
(*Dharmasūtra. X.*5.4.)

cast its spell over the Indian mind through over two millenniums is evidence of the inspiration which created it and which it serves to create. This is apparently symbolized in the famous Eleventh Chapter where Arjuna is invested with the divine vision (*Divya-cakṣuh*) and beholds the infinite glory of the Lord.

The other instance is the *Yoga Vāśiṣtha.* In this work the most profound philosophy is interwoven with a network of symbolic stories and invested with a delightfully poetic setting. There is much prolixity and repetition, or what appears like it to the modern mind. The importance of this book can hardly be exaggerated; yet it rests not on system and logic but wholly on the freshness of the intuitions embodied in it. A number of minor *Upaniṣads* have been traced to this source. It is a point for note that these later *Upaniṣads* are still recognized as *Śruti* (revelation) which is a tacit admission that notwithstanding Āpastamba, inspiration had not dried up altogether. In fact this secondary literature (including the Tantras) seems to have been growing at an alarming pace until it was all of a sudden brought to a standstill. This is perhaps symbolized in the legend that the Vindhya mountain started growing so rapidly as to overshadow the Himālaya itself, until the sage Agastya (meaning, he who stopped the mountain) crossed it and went south after extracting a promise from the mountain that it would cease to grow until he returned. But Agastya never came back. So the Vindhya remained stationary ever after.

(*To be continued*)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INDIAN MEGALITHS*

K. S. Ramachandran

R

Raghavan, M. D. CS: Vol. I, pp. 63–66, 1932.

South Indian Neolithic Culture.

The author, while detailing the lithic culture particularly neolithic culture, says that in South India Iron Age succeeded neolithic culture. The megalithic culture was an advanced iron using civilization. The graves exhibit evidence of high social organization and well developed religious cult. [135]

Raghavan, M. D. MAN: Vol. XXXV, No. 165, 1935.

The Gourd form in Pottery.

Described in detail is the technique of manufacture of goods like pottery by moulding over a gourd and cutting into halves while yet wet and again joining the halves. The pot has also an opening. Foote is of the opinion that these served as seed boxes while the author feels that these were meant for storage of grains for every day use.

Raghavan, M. D. CS: Vol. IV, pp. 306–307, 1935.

A ram shaped sarcophagus from Cuddapah.

A ram shaped sarcophagus from a small village two miles north of the town Porumanilla, Badvel Taluk, Cuddapah District, is described in detail. The author says that certain animals came to be regarded as embodiments of the souls of the dead and the ram often served as one such soul animal. The sheep played a prominent role with all pastoral peoples and it was the chosen animal to bear all the sins and evils of mankind as the goat was among the Jews.

The ram as soul animal acted as a means of transport of the dead soul to the world of spirits. The decorative trappings suggest a caparisoned animal ready for its onward journey.

* Continued from Volume LII page 130.

Entombing bones in this would, perhaps, suggest an invocation to that veritable god for the soul to be born again and again on earth.

RAGHAVAN, M. D. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume: pp. 384–389, 1936.

The Rock Cut caves of Malabar.

Caves scooped out of the lateritic soil at Panunda and Punnol (Chelleth cave) are discussed. In the former a spear, grind-stone and iron objects were found. Excavation of the Chelleth cave yielded pottery. A four-legged, round and narrow bottomed vessel is worth mentioning. Some of the pottery were painted with decorative designs and geometrical bands in monochrome. Pigment was light black and painted after firing. Colour is some form of carbon unmixed with other colour. Five iron objects one resembling a conventionalised human figure were obtained. The bowl containing bones was covered with a ring-knobbed lid. The author also describes at length the method of construction of these caves and says that the pillar in the centre is for the stability of the structure. He agrees with Logan in that these caves were constructed by a people before the instrusive Vedic Brāhminic culture. He also recounts a local legend regarding these being used for residential purposes.

RAJU, K. V. RASMP* Fazli 1344 (1934-35) pp. 2-3.

Incorporates a short account of the results of the excavations of megaliths at Sittannavasal, Arnipatti, Surandapatti, Tachampatti and Thodayur.

The interments were urn and cist burials. Cists are cells formed of stone slabs buried in the ground. Transcepted cists were also observed. Method of construction of these cists is recounted. Grave goods consisted of pottery and iron weapons. There were no traces of human bones in any of the tombs. All the vessels contained sand mixed with lime. A stone ball, probably a sling ball, was also recovered.

*Report on the Administration of the State Museum, Pudukkottai.

RAJU, K. V. RASMP. Fazli 1347 (1937-38), pp. 3-4.

Archaeology.

Gives a gist of the results of the excavation of burials at Kaliyapatti and Kalakkudipatti. All these were cists. No trace of human bones was found. The objects recovered were acquired for the Museum. [140]

RAMAN, K.V. IA: 1958–59, p. 32.

Exploration in District Madurai.

Discovered cairn circles at Periyur and Gopalapuram. Dolmens at Mallapuram and of urn burials at Sangapadai, Tangalacheri, Madipannur, Sivarakkottai, Kottaimedu, Amattiapatti, Periakattalai, Vandarai, Parapatti, Tirumanikkam T. Kallupatti and Valambur, are noticed.

Etched carnelian beads were found in a disturbed urn in Sangapadai.

RAMAN, K. V. IA : 1960-61, pp. 18-19.

Exploration in District Madurai.

At Virachinnamlpuram, apart from the usual cairn circles with bounding stones placed in a circular fashion the bounding stones forming an oblong pattern were also noticed.

Urn burials were noticed at Chenampatti, Kuraiyur, Krisalkalampatti, Pudur and at Kottaipatti, all in Periakulam Taluk. Cists were observed at Munandipatti.

Habitational vestiges at Pudur and Salippapillaiyarnattam were observed.

RAMAN, K. V. IA : 1960-61, p. 63.

Urn burial site, District South Arcot.

The urn burial site at Nachchiarpettaimedu seems to be an extensive one.

RAMACHANDRAN, K. S. IA : 1956–57, p. 80.

Megalithic sites in Madras State, Vaigal Basin.

Urn burial sites without megalithic appendage were discovered at Samanattam, Palangunattam, Old Vilangudi and Paravai.

Stone circles were found at Kudalanayakenpatti, Madura District.

RAMAVARMA Ind. Ant.: Vol. VII, pp. 26–27, 1887.

Sepulchral urns in the District of Coimbatore.

Refers to the occurrence of urns similar to Tinnevelly ones in the Coimbatore District. These urns are found interred in cists surrounded by stone circles and contain bones and spear or arrowheads of iron. The author believes that these chest like chambers with circular openings were habitations of a pygmy race. [145]

RAO, GURURAJA B. K. IA: 1958–59, p. 71.

Urn burial in District Madurai.

Extensive urn burial site was found at Gopalasamiparamba.

RAO, GURURAJA B. K. IA: 1958–59, p. 71.

Urn burial and Historical site in District South Arcot.

Discovery of megalithic burials with pyriform urns at Porearkoil near Perumalnaikenalayam, Tulukanveli near Mel-pattambakkam and Nattamedu near Pagandai are noticed.

RAO, GURURAJA B. K. IA: 1959–60, p. 73.

Megalithic site in District Chitaldrug.

Notices discovery of a cist enclosed by a stone circle on a laterite debris at Talya in a disturbed state.

RAO, GURURAJA B. K. AND RAMAN K. V. IA: 1957–58, p. 38.

Exploration in District Madurai.

Discovery of urn burials at Thata-nodi-medu near Bodi-nayakanur, Sengulam, Vedar Puliangulam, Malakuyilkudi, Palanganatham, Paravai, Samayanallur, Vilangudi, Tenur and Podumba Sikandar Chavadi, Nagarmalai-Pudukkottai are noticed. Cairns and dolmens were observed at Nagarmalai-Pudukkottai and Alampatti.

RAO, NAGARAJA M. S. IA: 1958–59, p. 32.

Exploration in District Dharwar.

Discovery of megalithic stone circles at Bidarkattai, Sidenur Chinnikatti, Kerwadi and Udagatti are discussed. Dolmens at Kadarmandaigi are also dealt with. [150]

RAO, NAGARAJA M. S. IA: 1959–60, p. 37–38.

Exploration in District Dharwar.

Discovery of stone circles at Budapanahalli, Asundi, Kushur, Kotihal and Malkanhalli are noticed.

RAO, NAGARAJA M. S. IA: 1960-61, p. 28.

Exploration in Dharwar District.

Discovery of stone circles at Malkanhalli, Kamdod, Hosur, Jangad and Belgati.

At Bellati a dolmen was observed.

RAO, RAMA B. PISCA: 1925, p. 262.

Observation on some of the megalithic monuments in the vicinities of Halgur and Chennapatna, Mysore State.

The monuments are classified (i) Cromlechs or sepulchral monuments of stone circles (ii) *Vīrakals* and *Māstikals* and (iii) *Devakals* monuments of Śiva worship. All of them are of high antiquity. The first belonging to the Iron Age and later, next *Devakal* monuments of Śaivite worship and last of all the *Vīrakals* belonging to a much later period.

RAO, S. R. IA: 1959–60, p. 72.

Stone tools and Megaliths, District Nagpur.

Stone circles and tumuli without visible megalithic appendage discovered near the village Durgana (Drug Daman) on the Nagpur-Amaroti Road are noticed in the village limits of Devalmatti.

REA, A. JASB: Vol. LVII, pp. 48–71, 1888.

Some prehistoric Burial Places in Southern India.

The burials at Pallavaram, Perianattam, Dadampatti, Paravai, Anapandi and megalithic remains near Kodaikanal are dealt with.

As regards the Pallavaram burials the author feels they belong to the Pallavas. Remains outside the Pallava territory belong to different races.

The differences in the arrangements or the plurality of the method of disposal of the dead may be due to the different castes or sections of the tribes.

The female was buried in oblong tombs (coffin) in horizontal position while the male was buried in round ones in sitting posture.

Contents of the tombs were the usual megalithic furnishings.

Megaliths at Perianattam, Dadampatti, Paravai, Anupandi and Palni Hills are classified and described. Megaliths are widespread throughout the world and perhaps the work of a race having some connection with each other. In India megaliths and earthenware receptacles for burials are common and must have been contemporary. Burial could have been only in a sitting posture. Similar jars and similar customs of burial are prevalent in the present day Africa. [155]

REA, A. ARASMC: pp. 11-14, 1902–03.

Adichanallur Excavations.

An illustrated descriptive report is given of the finds, gold, diamonds (with parallels from Mycenae). Bronze vessels, iron objects and pottery, inside burials excavated at Adichanallur, Tinnevelly District are also found.

REA, A. ARASI: pp. 111-143, 1902-03.

Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevelly.

The author gives a list of thirty-five burial sites discovered during his exploratory survey in the district. Important among them is Addittanallur which he subsequently excavated. A very detailed account of the excavation of the urn burials including the location of the site, contents of the urn, objects in metal, bronze ornamental vase stands, bronze ornamental lids, bronze bowls, jars and cups, bronze sieve cups and strainers, bronze bell mouthed jars or *chattis*, bronze plaques, bangles, cornelian beads,

ear ornaments, iron sword and dagger, arrows etc. is given. Some urns contained full skeletons in fixed position. Important among finds are gold and diamonds.

REA, A. ARSMC: pp. 18–22, 1903–04.

Adichanallur (Adittanallur).

In some of the pottery inside urns found by M. Louis Lapicque, husks of paddy were noticed. The author himself continued the excavations in the protected and the surrounding area. He summarises the results as follows:

(1) Ground towards south-west contained urn interring skull and bones.

(2) Ground on the east contained urns in great depth, sixteen feet or fifteen feet, and several pottery.

(3) In the middle all kinds of articles were found.

Gold objects were found in big urns buried deep and the top fully packed with heavy stones.

In small urns husks, mica and charcoal were found. Several iron swords showed remnants of the trace of wooden sheaths.

Excavation of a mound in the east—supposed habitation area—revealed ashes mixed with bones and horns of animals. The report is illustrated with a descriptive list.

REA, A. ARSMC: pp. 23-25, 1903–04.

Kilnattam.

Is situated at the base of a hill to the north-east of Palamcottah at a distance of three miles. Excavated several urns and found both inside and outside urns, bronze and iron objects, pottery and skeletal remains, all of the usual megalithic culture. Of particular interest will be iron saucer lamp, a gold bead and a concave pottery lid with looped handle in the central concavity. A full skull (illustrated) was also obtained.

REA, A. ARASI: pp. 158–159, 1903–04.

Prehistoric pottery from Tinnevelly.

The pottery from the urn burials of Tinnevelly consists of red, black and black and red. Texture is thin and well-made.

Very rare instance of painting consisting of dotted slanting lines occur from the rim.

Urn is thick and course red in colour. Docoration, if any, are thumb marks.

REA, A. ARASMC: pp. 54–55, 1903–04.

Tindivanam.

Remains of prehistoric dolmens near Varikal in the village of Sittamudi are dealt with. Excavation of one by a Revenue Officer yielded only pottery. Similar remains are found at Amayeri and Thandavasamudram villages, Villupuram Taluk near Varikal.

REA, A. ARSMC: pp. 36-37, 1904–05.

Perumbair.

A few cromlechs were examined and the finds included copper coins, iron, bronze, pottery, sarcophagi etc. A little distance away from the village on the west are remains of a mud fort attributed to Kurumbars.

REA, A. ARASMC: p. 2, 1906–07.

Excavation.

Excavation of a few burial monuments around the Triśūlam Hills near Pallavaram yielded an exposed sarcophagi, three feet to seven feet long and pottery in numbers.

REA, A. ARASI: p. 90, 1908–09.

Excavation at Amaravati.

In the proximity of the foundations of a small stupa, adjacent to the main stupa seventeen megalithic pyriform (urns) were found. These lie partially under the stupa. The pots obtained from here resemble those from Perumbair.

REA, A. ARASMC: p. 3, 1907–08.

Perumbair, Chingleput District.

Further excavations of cromlechs yielded legged sarcophagi, pots and bone remains. Interesting is the find of three legged jars.

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REA, A. ARASI: pp. 92-97.

Prehistoric remains at Perumbair.

A brief account of the excavations of several burials and their contents are given. Interesting find is one of a terracotta sarcophagus without legs and decorated shell ear ornaments, pendants, beads, etc. The burial equipment consists of the usual megalithic pots and iron weapons besides bones.

REA, A. Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair, pp. 1-49, 1915.

Adichanallur.

Is situated twelve miles south-east of Tinnevelly town on the southern bank of the Tāmbaraparaṇi river. Burials are on high-land waste unsuited for cultivation. Cemeteries are often situated on the southern side of habitation.

Objects were found both inside and outside the urns. Traces of cloth were found on some bronze objects. The rarity of bronze objects and their use as personal ornaments is note-worthy, which speaks of its scarceness and consequent high value.

A descriptive illustrated list of six hundred and sixteen objects including gold, bronze, iron, stone, pottery and bone is given.

Perumbair.

The site situated on rocky high ground was excavated from 1904 to 1908 at intervals. The burial interments consisted of sarcophagi, urns, pottery, iron implements, personal ornaments of shell etc. A comprehensive illustrated list of one hundred and seventy five objects found in the burials is given.

REA, A. ARASM: pp. 10-13, 1910-11.

Excavation: Prehistoric Caves at Perungulam.

The author reports the results of the excavation of a multi-chambered rock-cut (laterite) cave at Perungulam, eight miles south-east of Tellicherrey railway station. The contents of the cave besides skeletal remains were the usual megalithic grave furnishings, *viz.* pots, iron object etc.

Ancient remains at Kaiyambundi.

Is situated two miles to the east of Mangalam railway station. Deals with the excavation of urns buried under a mound in which besides pieces of bones, pottery and occasionally iron implements were also met.

REDDY, RAMAKRISHNA A. PISCA: p. 53, 1945.

Prehistoric burials in Pallavaram.

Found sarcophagi, iron objects (oxidized) trident, sickle spearhead etc. in a burial on a hill slope in Triśūlam village near Pallavaram. He says that the urns were deposited in pits scooped out in the bed-rock where necessary.

REDDY, RAMAKRISHNA A. MAN: Vol. XXXI, No. 202, 1931.

Bowls from Ur and the Nilgiris.

Compares the bronze bowl from Nilgiris (refer to plates X-XII of Bruce Foote's "Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Madras Museum" and Breeks "An account of the primitive tribes and the monuments" of the Nilgiris plates XLI-XLII) with a gold bowl found by Sir L. Wooley (Illustrated London News, 17th December 1927) in Ur is given. The author says that this suggests some phylogenetic connections between the two vessels.

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RICHARD, F. J. JRAI: Vol. 54, pp. 157-165, 1925.

Note on some Iron Age Graves in the North Arcot District, South India.

The results of the excavation of three burials at Odugattur (Revenue village Madaiyapattu) some eighteen miles away from Vellur are given. The diameter of the circles excavated varied from thirty-four to fifty-six feet. The contents were the usual megalithic interments but special mention is to be made of the followings:

(i) A number of decorated (incised) chank shell ornaments.
(ii) Stone objects of domestic usage *viz.* pestles, mortar etc.
(iii) Iron plates with conical copper discs (rivets).
(iv) A peculiar bird figure (peacock) attached to an iron sheet.

RIVETT-CARNAC J. H. PASB: p. 11, 1879.

Prehistoric Remains in Central India.

This is an abstract of a paper read before the Asiatic Society recounting the results of the excavations of burial circles at Junapani near Nagpur. The nature and contents of the burials are discussed elaborately and these were compared with similar monuments in Europe.

The President Mr. Blanford's observation is that the peculiar and restricted distribution of these would indicate their attribution to an immigrant race and not to an aboriginal tribe. The snaffle bits and stirrups would connect the circle building race with the tribes of Central Asia, who have been horsemen from time immemorial. None of the wilder tribes of the Indian Puninsula use horses and the animal is not indigenous to the country. In Europe all such monuments are associated chiefly or entirely with bronze. The occurrence of iron implements in so many cases, has been explained thus (i) the Indian remains might be later in chronology or (ii) Iron came into use earlier in India than in Europe.

RIVETT-CARNAC J. H. JASB: Vol. XLVIII, pp. 1–16, 1879.

Prehistoric Remains in Central India.

A detailed account of the Tumuli (Cairn Circles) at Junapani on the Nagpur-Katol road is given with an excellent description of the iron and other metallic objects discovered. The author concludes:

(i) The barrows in India and in Europe always face towards the south.

(ii) The remains found in the Indian barrows resemble almost exactly the remains dug out of similar burial places in Europe.

(iii) The shape of the tumuli in India and Europe are the same.

(iv) The cup marks on the boulders which surround the Indian tombs are identical with the marks found on the stones placed around the same class of tumuli in Europe.

The author is also of the opinion that these cup marks form a sort of code message similar to Morse code.

ROY, DAVID. PISCA: p. 334, 1937.

Megalithic culture of the Khasis.

Erection of stones underlies the idea that the person does not die. Bones are collected and deposited. Stone is a symbol of permanence. It forms a connection between the living and the dead. The dead influence the living in their life and property. Hence food giving ceremony is continued for the dead also.

ROY, SARAT CHANDRA. JBORS: Vol. I, pp. 299-253, 1915.

A note on some remains of the ancient Asurs in the Ranchi District.

The Asur sites are distributed from the northern banks of river Kanchi near Kalamati in the Ranchi Thana up to the banks of the river Phuljar on the borders of the Singhbhum District. The remains are to be found in the villages of Khuntitola, Pokla, Kamanta, Anigara, Dargama, Bichna, Pandu, Lupongdi, Digri, Oskea, Bamni, Toner, Sarigam, Indpiri and Etre. The urns are found buried a couple feet below the huge flat stones. They are piled one above the other. They contain bits of bone, a couple of small pots and an earthen lamp in one instance. Besides, iron objects, copper ear rings, copper bracelets, anklets, rings, strings of beads of stone and copper were also found. Apart from the flat stone monuments upright standing stones of considerable dimensions were also observed.

The sites, the author observes, are conveniently situated on the banks of a river commanding a view of the country to facilitate defence. Bricks, buildings, tanks, cinerary urns, copper ornaments and iron smelting are the principal features of the Asur sites. (175]

ROY, SARAT CHANDRA. JBORS: Vol. VI, 393–423, 1920.

Distribution and nature of Asur sites in Chota Nagpur.

A burial and building site of the Asurs are described. The burials come from Khuntitole.

The grave yard is situated on high ground. A big stone usually supported on the corners by smaller ones concealed, some-

times upto thirteen urns is mentioned. The bones were found in varying stages of disintegration and were carbonized signifying that the bodies were burnt and the bones collected for burial. Inside the covered urns smaller vessels and other ornaments, copper and bronze objects were found. Ornamentation on pottery consisted of rectilinear, circular, elliptical, punch mark curvilinear designs and finger nail decorations. Animals and floral designs were rare among sepulchral vases. Decoration on copper and bronze objects were rectilinear, curvilinear, spherical, beaded, fluted, plaited and scroll designs.

Personal ornaments consisted of bracelets, anklets, ear ornaments of bronze, rings, beads, ankle bells of bronze etc. Among iron objects the following are worth mentioning : bracelets, rings, arrowheads, of particular interest will be the discovery of a metal figure of a man driving a plough with a pair of bullocks.

RYBOT, N. V. L. MAN : Vol. XXXI, No. 115, 1931.

Groups of menhir in Kashmir.

The principal group of menhirs stands at Ramariki near Burzihama, about two miles north-west of Shahi-imarat (commonly called Shalimar) gardens in Kashmir. The second is at Shadipur ten miles down stream from Srinagar. Another group was also found near Srinagar.

(To be continued)

The Finances of Mysore State 1799-1831 : by Dr. M. H. Gopal. Published by Orient Longmans and printed at the Wesley Press, (pages 267) Price Rs. 15.

In this second volume in a projected series of four, the author has attempted to reconstruct the financial history of Mysore for the period commencing from the installation of Mummadi Krishnarāja Wodeyar in 1799, after the fall of Srirangapatna, to the date of the take-over of the Mysore administration by the British Government in 1831. Only those who have attempted to dig up historical facts about Mysore will know what a formidable task Dr. Gopal has undertaken and how excellently he has accomplished it.

Of the seven chapters into which the book under review is divided, the first three deal with Purnaiya's administration; the fourth brings under focus the Dewanship of Purnaiya's successor Rama Rao; the fifth and the sixth chapters throw light on the Maharaja's personal administration and the events that eventually led up to the assumption of the administration by the British in 1831. In the seventh and last chapter the author attempts a detailed analysis of the causes that conspired to produce this denouement. At the end of the book are seven appendices, including a glossary and bibliography of which Appendix B presents a review of available statistical material relating to the period covered by the book. The bibliography which figures as Appendix G bears witness to the tremendous lot of study that has gone into this publication. One is, however, intrigued to find the omission in the glossary of such an obvious secondary source as Rao Bahadur Shama Rao's "Modern Mysore."

In reviewing the material he has collected and marshalled, the author displays a singular freedom from bias. In assessing the character of the principal personalities involved, he descends neither to denigration nor to deification. The facts excavated from various sources are presented with an objectivity that makes the work a very valuable reference book indeed.

G. Nanjundiah

Channabasava Nayaka : by Dr. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar, English translation by *Rajasevasakta* Navaratna Rama Rao, printed at the Bangalore Press and published by Jeevana Publications, Bangalore-19.

When the Kannada original appeared a decade ago, literary circles hailed it as a master-piece. Many who had enjoyed reading it, ardently wished for an English rendering of it to be brought out. That wish was fulfilled when the translation now under review was brought out by the Jeevana Publications. Those who have read this English version will agree that there could not possibly have been a more faithful and sensitive rendering. To *Rajasevasakta* Sri Navaratna Rama Rao the work of translating 'Channabasava Nayaka' must have been indeed a labour of love.

Channabasava Nāyaka is a historical novel having as its theme the last days of the Bednur Kingdom. The chiefdom was founded by two brothers (at Keladi in Sagar Taluk) under a sannad granted about the year 1560 by the Vijayanagar king. The seat of Government was moved subsequently to Ikkeri, ten miles to the South of Keladi and in 1640 the capital was again shifted to Bednore, near the Western Ghats by Sivappa Nāyak, the most celebrated of the Nāyaks of Keladi. Basappa Nāyaka II, the eighth in succession to the Bednur chieftainship after Sivappa Nāyak, passed away in 1754 and was succeeded by his adopted son Channabasappa Nāyaka. In July 1757, the latter died or disappeared and within 17 days, Rāni Vīrammāji the widow of Basappa Nāyaka II, took in adoption her maternal uncle's son Somasekhara and put him on the throne. Authorities differ as to the fate that overtook Channabasappa Nāyaka. According to one version (Haidar Nāmāh) Rāni Vīrammāji had contracted criminal intimacy with one Nambiah. On Chanabasappa Nāyaka attempting to put an end to this intimacy, the enraged Vīrammāji contrived to get him strangled in the bath. Life, however, was not completely extinct in him. He soon revived and making good his escape sought the protection of Medekere Nāyaka, Pallegar of Chitradurga. The latter espoused the cause of Channabasappa Nāyaka with Haidar. Promising to see Channabasappa Nāyaka reinstalled on the Bednur gadi, Haidar

started on his expedition. According to another version, the person who was introduced to Haidar by Medekere Nāyaka was only a Pretender. Yet another version represents Channabasava as having been saved from the hands of Rāni Vīrammāji even before any attempt was made on him. Whatever the truth, all versions are agreed that Haidar besieged Bednore about the beginning of March 1763. The Rāni gallantly resisted the invader for nearly a year. But when she found further resistance useless, she set the Palace on fire and fled with a few faithful attendants to the hill-fort of Kavaledurg. Haidar besieged the fort of Kavaledurg and subduing the defenders, took the Rāni prisoner. The Rāni was sent to the hill-fort of Madhugiri along with Channabasava Nāyaka and her alleged paramour Nambiah, to spend her days in exile.

To this skeleton taken from history, Dr. Venkatesa Iyengar has given flesh and blood and has produced a work which discerning critics will readly acknowledge as one of the masterpieces of modern Kannada literature. Plot construction, description, dialogue, characterisation, style—whatever aspect of the work you take—the reader is bound to find the characteristic Masti touch. In Masti's skilful hands even inanimate objects acquire a purpose and a meaning. The Bababuḍans, for instance, and the Dattatreya Pīta on the mountain range, are no decorative frills but are for 'Channabasava Nāyaka' what the Yorkshire moors are for 'Wuthering Heights'. As for characterisation, while the historical figures in the story re-live their lives (Haidar, Rāni Vīrammāji, Channabasava Nāyaka, Lingappa etc.) in the pages of the book, the children of Dr. Venkatesa Iyengar's imagination (Heggadati of Vastra, Santavva, Nam bavia, Kenchavva, Saguṇa, Mallige etc.) never betray their fanciful origin.

Channbasava Nayaka is a notable contribution to Kannada literature. It is a pity that the Sahitya Akadami allowed itself to revoke its earlier decision to have the work translated into all the principal Indian languges. Members of the Akadami have only to go through *Rajasevasakta* Navarathna Rama Rao's English rendering of it to regret their revocation.

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